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LONG AND GLORIOUS MARCH OF THE LAO PEOPLE TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE

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Nixon's October 7 Speech

AN ELECTORAL MANOEUVRE

(A commentary by NHAN DAN of October 10, 1970)

AFTER beating the big drum of propaganda, the US President delivered on October 7 a speech on the South Vietnamese and Indochinese problem which was supposed to be "a major new peace initiative."

The "initiative" includes five points: "cease-fire-in-place," "peace conference" on Indochina, troop withdrawal, political solution of the South Viet Nam problem and release of "prisoners-of-war."

The speaker affirmed that these five points would open the door to a lasting peace in Indochina. And the propaganda machine of the White House works full blast to sell the fine words of its master.

Unfortunately, there are in the world and even in the US many people who denounce the true nature of Nixon's proposals. Ex-Secretary of Defence Clifford said in Washington on October 8 that he found nothing new in Nixon's proposal. Senator Morse affirmed that under cover of fine words, the US president demands nothing but the surrender of North Viet Nam and the NFL (*UPI*, October 8, 1970).

What did Nixon say about Viet Nam and Indochina, chiefly about the two fundamental questions, namely cessation of the war and a correct political solution to the Viet Nam problem? What is the difference between his position and that of the Vietnamese people?

Regarding the withdrawal of US troops, the ten-point overall solution and the clarifying points enunciated on Sept. 17 by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam made clear that the US must stop its aggressive war and withdraw all its troops and those of the foreign countries in the US camp from South Viet Nam without posing any conditions whatsoever. In case the US government declares it will withdraw from South Viet Nam all its troops and those of the other foreign countries in the US camp by June 30, 1971, the People's Liberation Armed Forces will refrain from attacking the withdrawing troops of the United States and those of the other foreign countries in the US camp, and the parties concerned will engage at once in discussions on the question of ensuring safety for the total withdrawal from South Viet Nam of US troops and those of the other foreign countries in the US camp and the question of releasing captured militarymen.

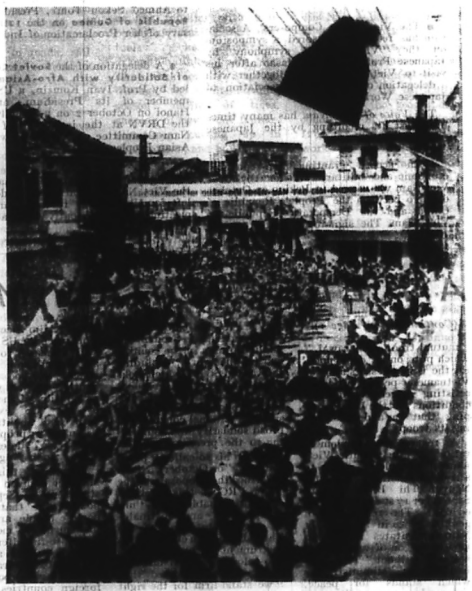
This principled stand on the withdrawal of US troops, which is also a fair and reasonable one, highlights the good will and serious attitude of the Vietnamese people. It responds to the legitimate demands and aspirations of the South Vietnamese people, the American people and the world's people for the cessation of US aggression and of the war and the withdrawal of all US troops and those of the other foreign countries in the US camp from South Viet Nam within a reasonable period of time. It also corresponds to the American people's concern for the fate of their sons sent to fight in South Viet Nam.

In contrast to the correct stand of the Vietnamese people, President Nixon in his October 7 speech still refuses to withdraw all US troops from South Viet Nam unconditionally. He persists in his policy of piece-meal and prolonged withdrawal of troops. As can be inferred from his speech, by mid-1971 there will still remain about 300,000 US troops and 60,000 troops of US satellites who will thus continue to commit crimes in South Viet Nam. Nixon still refuses to set a timetable for the withdrawal of all US troops, but urges "negotiations" on that matter in accordance with the "principles" set by the US itself. This, in fact, boils down to the old demand for

(Continued page 2)

16 Years Ago

On **October 10, 1954** *the first units of the Viet Nam People's Army entered Hanoi: North Viet Nam was definitively liberated.*



SOUTH VIET NAM (in September, 1970):

Enemy Defences Breached Everywhere

LAST month, well-co-ordinated attacks were made by the PLAF of all categories on all fronts, breaking through the defence line of the enemy and hitting him deep in his rear, *Giai Phong* Press Agency reported.

In the **Northernmost part of South Viet Nam**, the PLAF harassed such enemy bases and points d'appui in the Highway No.9 area as Con Tien, Bai Son, Tan Lam (Rockpile), Hill 241 (Camp Carroll) and the CP of 2nd Regiment of puppet First Infantry Division. Farther South, the gun emplacements at Coc Bai (O'Reilly) and Da Ban (Barnett) came under heavy PLAF fire. These two bases form with Hill 935 (Ripcord) a network of points d'appui, the evacuation of which last July was a heavy setback for the US 101st Airmobile Division. The puppet troops had to abandon Da Ban on the 15th. The battle-count in the two provinces of Quang Tri and Thua Thien in September gave 1,900 enemy casualties, 59 aircraft downed, an ammunition depot burnt, 4 cannons destroyed and many prisoners taken.

In the **coastal region between Quang Nam and Khanh Hoa provinces**, northeast of Saigon, the patriotic forces struck at least 220 enemy targets, including Qui Nhon provincial capital, the HQ of South Korean Division "White Horse" north of Ninh Hoa, and Cam Ranh where a 8000-ton freighter loaded with ammunition was set on fire on Sept. 23 after a thundering explosion. In all, 12 district capitals and sub-sector CPs were assaulted in this region.

(Continued page 9)

DRVN in Brief

• A ceremony took place in Hanoi on October 7 to mark the 10th anniversary of the sworn brotherhood of Hanoi (North Viet Nam), Hue and Saigon (South Viet Nam) (October 8 1960). The establishment of such ties between the Northern cities and provinces and the Southern ones was a popular initiative aimed at strengthening the fraternal bonds among the Vietnamese of the two zones and their common resolve to fight for national reunification.

• The Hydraulic College has graduated the most important batch of engineers since its establishment (378 students) in September.

• The new contingent from the Pharmacy College had 219 graduates (62% of them girls).

• The Vietnamese Composers' Association has recently sponsored a symposium on the "Viet Nam" symphony by Japanese Professor Ohki Masao after his visit to Viet Nam in 1969 together with a delegation of the Music Association of Japanese Workers.

The *Voice of Viet Nam* has many times broadcast its recording by the Japanese orchestra *New Star*.

• An accord granting non-repayable economic and military aid for 1971 for Viet Nam was signed in Peking on October 6, 1970 between the People's Republic of China and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The signatories to the accord were Vice-Premier Nguyen Con, VNWP CC Secretary for the Vietnamese, and Vice Premier Li Hsien-nien, member of the CCP CC Politbureau for the Chinese.

• The Viet Nam Committee of Solidarity with Afro-Asian Peoples held on October 1 in Hanoi a meeting on the occasion of the **Week of Solidarity with Asian Peoples.**

• On October 7, on the 21st founding anniversary of the **German Democratic Republic,** a congratulatory message was sent by President Ton Duc Thang, VNWP CC First Secretary Le Duan, Chairman of the National Assembly Standing Committee Truong Chinh and Prime Minister Pham Van Dong to the GDR party and government leaders.

• On behalf of the Vietnamese people and the DRVN Government and in his own name, President Ton Duc Thang sent on October 3 a message of congratulation to Ahmed Sekou Toure, President of the **Republic of Guinea** on the 12th anniversary of her Proclamation of Independence.

• A delegation of the **Soviet Committee of Solidarity with Afro-Asian Peoples** led by Prof. Ivan Komzin, a USSR hero, member of its Presidium, arrived in Hanoi on October 2 on a friendly visit to the DRVN at the invitation of the Viet Nam Committee of Solidarity with Afro-Asian Peoples.

• **Nguyen Cong Hoa,** Vice-Chairman of the Viet Nam Federation of Trades-Union, left for Ulan Bator to take part in the meeting of the Executive Bureau of the WFTU.

87th Plenary Session of Paris Conference on Viet Nam (Oct. 8, 1970)

NIXON'S PROPOSALS SUBJECTED TO STERN SCRUTINY

MME Nguyen Thi Binh and Mr Xuan Thuy, respectively heads of the delegations of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, made close analysis of President Nixon's Oct. 7 speech.

They pointed out that the deep root and the immediate cause of the present tension in Indochina were the US policy of intervention in, and aggression against, the three countries of the peninsula. Since April 1970, with the invasion of Cambodia by order of Nixon himself, the United States has extended the war to the whole of Indochina. To end the war and peacefully solve the Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia problems, it is necessary that the USA stop its aggression, withdraw its troops and those of its satellite countries from Indochina and let the peoples of these lands free to settle themselves their own affairs without American interference.

They also made clear that in his address Mr Nixon misrepresented facts and reiterated slanders against the DRVN, and that consequently his "peace initiative" could not be given serious consideration. In fact, he made no positive response to either the Sept. 17 clarifications of the PRG or its 10-point overall solution, stubbornly refused to pull out all US and satellite troops by the date of June 30, 1971 and wanted to keep in office the fascist and bellicose regime of the Thieu-Ky-Khiem triumvirate in South Viet Nam in order to maintain there US neo-colonialism. His proposal for a "cease-fire-in-place" only aimed at legalizing American aggression in South Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia and denying to the Indochinese peoples their legitimate right to self-defence.

In a nutshell, said the Vietnamese people's representatives, Nixon's statement meant nothing but continued US aggression in South Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos.

AN ELECTORAL MANOEUVRE

(*Continued from page 1*)

"mutual troop withdrawal," which puts on an equal footing the US aggressors and the Vietnamese people who are resisting aggression, and set conditions for the US's stopping that war and withdrawing its troops.

As regards the implementation of the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination, Minister Nguyen Thi Binh in her September 17 statement pointed out: The restoration of genuine peace in South Viet Nam necessitates the formation in Saigon of an administration without Thieu-Ky-Khiem, an administration which stands for peace, independence, neutrality and democracy. The RSVN Provisional Revolutionary Government is prepared to enter into talks with such an administration on a political settlement of the South Viet Nam problem so as to put an end to the war and restore peace. A provisional government of broad coalition is indispensable for the organization of really free and democratic general elections during the transition period between the restoration of peace and the holding of general elections. The provisional coalition government will include three components: members of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam; members of the Saigon administration really standing for peace, independence, neutrality and democracy; and people belonging to political and religious forces and tendencies standing for peace, independence, neutrality and democracy.

The afore-said stand of the RSVN PRG has enjoyed sympathy and support from broad public opinion in the country and in the world, including the United States, which looks upon it as a correct, reasonable, logical, clear and adequate proposal, reflecting the spirit of national concord and broad solidarity and conforming to the present realities.

Yet, in his so-called "peace initiative" on October 7, Nixon described the proposals of the RSVN PRG on this problem as "unreasonable" and "unacceptable," and obstinately urged maintenance of the Thieu-Ky-Khiem clique as an instrument to carry out US neo-colonialism. Nixon also hypocritically repeated that "we stand firm for the right of all the South Vietnamese people to determine for themselves the kind of government they want." In fact, it is clear that the US has been using force to try to compel the South Vietnamese people to accept the traitorous, anti-popular, war-like and rotten clique which the South Vietnamese people are determined to overthrow.

ALONG with clinging to the colonialist war-mongering stand and extremely stubborn attitude on the afore-said fundamental questions, President Nixon also raised a number of other problems aimed at misleading public opinion and sowing illusions among certain strata of people in the United States and elsewhere.

Nixon proposed a "cease-fire-in-place" at a time when the Vietnamese people and the world's people are demanding that the US stop its aggression and withdraw all its troops unconditionally. To proclaim a cease-fire at a time when the US government still refuses to stop its aggression and still keeps nearly 400,000 troops in South Viet Nam would mean recognition of the occupation by the US expeditionary corps and abolition of the Vietnamese people's sacred right to defend themselves against aggression.

Regarding this problem, Minister Nguyen Thi Binh's statement of September 17 pointed out that the Vietnamese people are ready to implement the modalities of the cease-fire after the parties concerned have agreed upon the total withdrawal of US troops and troops of the foreign countries in the US camp, the casting aside of Thieu-Ky-Khiem, and the setting up of a provisional coalition government to organize really free and democratic general elections. Only in such conditions can a cease-fire meet the necessity to end the war of aggression waged by the US, and ensure the independence and the right to self-determination of the people and guarantee genuine peace.

The US President also proposed an international conference to discuss peace in Indochina. He said: "The United States has never sought to widen the war. What we seek is to widen the peace." How cynical! It is Nixon who has been escalating the war in Laos, invading Cambodia and widening the war to the whole of the Indochinese peninsula. Also it is Nixon who has been trying to breathe life into his placemen in Vientiane and Phnom Penh and has ordered them to oppose the Lao and Cambodian peoples who are resisting US aggression to save their countries. The key problem is whether or not the US agrees to stop its aggression against the three Indochinese countries, not the forms the conference would take. The Nixon administration refuses to accept the ten-point overall solution of the PRG of the Republic of South Viet Nam, opposes the five-point declaration of March 23, 1970, by Samdech Head of State Norodom Sihanouk, rejects the five-point solution proposed by the Lao Patriotic Front and creates obstacles to the meeting between representatives of Prince Souphanouvong and Prince Souvanna Phouma.

With such an aggressive and bellicose stand, Nixon's proposal for an Indochina peace conference is only a hoax.

In Nixon's speech the problem of "prisoners-of-war" was once again raised. In this connection, Minister Nguyen Thi Binh's statement of September 17 already said that in case the US government declares it will withdraw all its troops from South Viet Nam by June 30, 1971, the parties concerned will engage at once in discussions on the question of releasing captured militarymen. The US President has not answered this constructive proposal but instead has used empty words on "peace" and "humanity" to deceive public opinion and cover the extremely barbarous crimes of the US in Viet Nam.

In short, Nixon's October 7 speech and his "five-point proposal" is in no way a "new and major peace initiative." It is a crafty manoeuvre aimed at realizing the "Nixon doctrine," stepping up the "Vietnamization of the war" program and gaining a "position of strength" on the battlefield and at the conference table in order to force the peoples of the Indochinese countries to accept a solution on US terms.

His speech was not at all aimed at seeking a correct peaceful solution to the Viet Nam problem. Instead, it was aimed at soothing the growing anti-war movement in the United States and gaining political influence for Nixon and company in the forthcoming US congressional elections.

THE Vietnamese people's fight is shining with justice. The stand of the Vietnamese people is a just one. The Vietnamese people cherish peace but it must be genuine peace, in real independence and freedom, not a Nixonian peace. So long as the US continues to invade Viet Nam, the Vietnamese people will fight on. The fight of the Vietnamese people and that of the Cambodian and Lao peoples are developing very favourably. As the Joint Statement of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples pointed out, the peoples of the three Indochinese countries are resolved to strengthen their unity, fight persistently to defend their sacred national rights, defend the basic principles of the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements on Indochina and Laos, and make Indochina become a truly independent and peaceful area in conformity with the aspirations of the peoples of the three Indochinese countries and the interests of peace in Southeast Asia and the world.

The D.R.V.N. is 25 Years Old

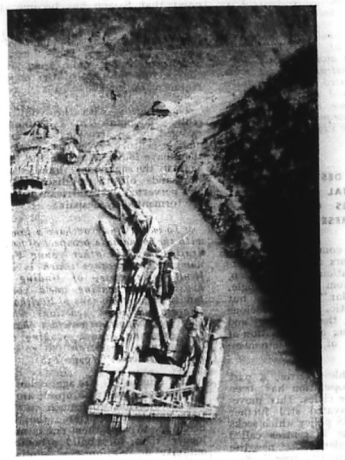
A New Forestry

TWENTY-FIVE years is a short span of time for such a branch as forestry for it takes a tree about one century to mature. Nevertheless, in co-ordination with other branches of the national economy, important changes have been brought to it.

FACING A GROWING NEED IN TIMBER

IN the first resistance war against the French colonialists (from 1946 to 1954), Viet Nam's forestry from all hilly regions. After healing our war scars, we had to buckle down at once to laying the technical and material foundations of socialism and it was wood which was first required, iron and concrete being reserved for cases of strict necessity. The requirement in wood grew rapidly: taking the 1955 production as basis, one notices a boost of 14.8 per cent from 1955 to 1957, 75.6 per cent from 1958 to 1960, and 173.2 per cent from 1961 to 1965. During all that period the flinch.

The hardest nut to crack was the equipping of hundreds of thousands of hectares of new forests, till now inaccessible because of the absence of roads, railways, bridges, waterways. Teams of pioneers — young volunteers guided by technicians — penetrated deeper and deeper into primeval forests. At the start they had to make everything for their working and living: building houses, tending kitchen gardens, building roads and bridges, inventorying trees and re-laying out forests... all with rudimentary means. Apart from their personal efforts, the State gave them multifarious help, chiefly in equipment: generators, bulldozers, tractors, lorries, mechanical saws. Nearly 3,000 km of motor roads, 5,000 km of buffalo-cart roads, thousands of bridges and thousands of kilometres of tractor tracks were built in twelve years (1956-1968). The exploitating sector was thus considerably broadened and provided with an infrastructure sufficient to operate a rational exploitation of timber and other forest products. At present, hundreds of State enterprises have been set up everywhere along roads and tracks, small waterways as well as in the jungle. One can hardly believe that a decade earlier this swampy area was pervaded with effluvia of rotten leaves full of leeches, plagued with malaria and infested with tigers and elephants. The development of forestry has brought a new economic and cultural life to the highlands, the less advanced region in the country.



In Nghe An: Timber rafts down to the plains.

CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE STATE AND AGRICULTURAL COMMUNITIES

ANOTHER striking feature in the development of forestry in North Viet Nam has been the change in the relations of production. The State has the monopoly of lumbering. To carry out its plan of production, each State enterprise recruits, besides regular workers, a number of workmen members of nearby co-operatives more or less familiar with lumbering and having their own tools: picks, hand-saws, draught buffaloes, carts, etc. They work for the State all through the dull farming season: felling of trees, shaping of newly-cut trunks, sometimes cutting up in thick plants, and hauling the wood to the nearest station at a cost agreed on beforehand. There is thus a close co-operation between the State and the agricultural co-operatives to the profit of both sides. The State enterprise can find plenty of qualified labour while giving the agricultural co-operative a technical and financial aid. On their part, the lumberjacks, co-op members, who were formerly exploited by the colonialists, can now enjoy all the fruits of their labour which is sometimes more remunerative than farming work. Besides, this co-operation testifies to a great flexibility in the management of forest manpower in accordance with the heterogenous and scattered state of woodlands. Up to 1965, more than 30,000 agricultural co-op members in the midlands and highlands took part annually in the exploitation of wood and other forest products, thus contributing a great part to the fulfilment of the forest product State plan, as shown by the following figures:

Timber and industrial wood:	60%	of total production
Firewood	80%	—
Bamboo	90%	—

It is on this co-operative basis that, despite the shortcoming of its unfavourable infrastructure and the geographical conditions of forests, the forest industry has not ceased widening its scope of activity and boosting its annual production.

EXPLOITATION, REPLANTING AND AFFORESTATION

HOWEVER such a development in forest exploitation inevitably played quite a limited role. It has really been active only since 1955, after liberation of North Viet Nam.

In the first three post-war years (1955-1957) there was a pressing demand for timber for the building of dwellings, sheds, bridges, railways destroyed during the resistance war. Two million cubic metres of timber and firewood were speedily obtained average annual rise was 11.6 per cent. The productive woodland before the August 1945 revolution, mostly in the midlands, proved quite insufficient in area as well as in potential wood supply. It would be necessary to go farther into the high mountain areas where difficulties were such that they had made the forest exploiters of the old regime weighed heavily on the forest assets which had not had a sufficient preparation before the liberation of North Viet Nam — lack of inventory of timber, lack of forest regulation for various types of forests, virtual non-existence of industrial infrastructure — let alone the difficulties created by the geographical conditions of the highlands. It was thus necessary to work out a sound policy on forestry: afforestation under a more rational plan, that is to restore the devastated natural forest and create new artificial ones so as to have, in a near future, say, four decades, forests having a high potential of timber and easy to exploit (rather even ground, near big waterways and if possible near the principal outlets). Pending this, it is necessary to continue to improve the forests for easy access in order to meet the home need in wood.

Implementing this line, as early as 1955, afforestation was carried out throughout the country by State enterprises and agricultural co-operatives. Replanting of trees was conducted mainly on devastated natural forest areas lying along navigable waterways, railways or main roads, while afforestation was done on all bare hills in the midlands which until then had not been of any use. Quick-growing species have been chosen: the *mangletia glauca*, very good timber for veneer and cabinet-making; a species of *castanopsis*, a kind of good timber; the *casuarina equisetifolia* used as poles, mine props and for the manufacture of viscose cellulose; the *styrax tonkinensis*, excellent wood for veneer and pencil-making; *pines* and *eucalyptuses* of various species, giving timber for various uses from big constructions to paper-making.

From 1959 onward, responding to President Ho Chi Minh's appeal for more woodlands, the afforestation drive has gained momentum in the form of a true national movement in which

(*Continued page 9*)

"US CRIMES Must Be Considered in Their Real Context"

(Concluded)

MORE BOMBS ON SOUTH VIET NAM THAN THE TONNAGE USED BY ALL THE BELLIGERENTS IN THE WHOLE WORLD WAR II

FOR the Pentagon, Viet Nam is a testing ground, especially for the licking into shape of weapons designed to bring the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America to their knees. McNamara, the then Secretary of Defense, publicly expressed his satisfaction at their effectiveness in Congress on March 14, 1967 when he claimed that the US was now better prepared to face emergency cases in the world than it had been before the Viet Nam war.

Let us mention first aviation with its multiple types and models: the B.52 strategic super-bomber, capable of delivering a 30-ton bomb load 8,000 kilometres from, and return to, base, flying in the stratosphere at a 1 000 km/p.h. cruising speed; the *Phantom* F.4, the *Thunderchief* F.105, the *Provider* C.123, etc.; helicopters, for the first time deployed en masse to provide the ground troops with a mobility hitherto unknown...

Next, a whole panoply of individual and collective weapons, special materials and engines, a real arsenal developed by American technology

has been tested and put into operation.

Viet Nam has also been used by the Pentagon as a testing ground for counter-revolutionary tactics and strategies.

The editors of the book reveal a continued process of perfecting the strategic use of air bombing, from the Ethiopian war of 1936 and the Spanish war in 1937 to the "saturation bombing" during World War II (Rotterdam, Dresden,...) and the current bombardments by the Americans in Viet Nam:

"... We enter into an absolutely new phase in which the aerial weapon has been used under a deliberate and carefully studied strategy whose target is not only the systematic liquidation of the specially selected population, but also (and above all?) the elementary means of living for the time being and that of survival for the future. Combined with the massive — and shilfully dosed — spraying of toxic chemicals and defoliants (...), the bombings, to all intents and purposes, are really a biocide." (page 118)

In the pamphlet, we find enlightening figures which prove the intensity, hitherto unknown in the history of wars, of these air bombings:

— From Feb. 7, 1965 to Nov. 1, 1968, **over one million tons** of explosives were dumped by US aircraft on North Viet Nam, or twice the bomb tonnage used by the US and Allied air forces in the Pacific throughout World War II.

— From 1961 to 1968, the whole of Viet Nam received at least **2,800,000 tons** of explosives of different kinds, i.e. a tonnage greater than used in all theatres of operations in the last World War, between 1939 and 1945, by all the belligerents (about 2,000,000 tons).

— In South Viet Nam, since Nov. 1, 1968 after the cessation of the bombardment of the DRVN, the Pentagon has been focusing all its efforts: 129,000 tons of explosives in May and 130,000 in July 1969 as compared with from 40,000 to 50,000 tons (before 1968) and 115,000 tons per month (late 1968), and *on all Viet Nam.*

— Almost daily, massive and always indiscriminate B.52 raids: average monthly bomb tonnage: 40,000 tons for the South from January to May 1960: 46,000 in June, 36 000 to 44,000 from August to October, etc. Remarkably enough, the monthly average of bomb tonnage used in all of Europe during World War II has never surpassed the 46,022 mark.

"Thus, the B.52s alone strike at tiny Viet Nam harder than all the planes of the belligerents at that time did at the vast European expanse." (pages 122 and 123).

"B.52s, in 1968, dug at least 2,600,000 craters across Viet Nam," (page 129) each from 20 to 30 metres in diameter and from 5 to 9 metres in depth.

These instances, as the Black Book points out, *"incontestably testify to the savagery and the will to destroy systematically and methodically a whole people and to deprive them of the elementary means of living and survival. They evidently demonstrate that it is a long premeditated and carefully applied plan, and not 'inevitable' horrors, as some may say, which are the 'consequences' of all conflicts."* (page 127)

SYSTEMATIC DESTRUCTION OF ORGANIZATIONAL AND MORAL STRUCTURES OF SOUTH VIETNAMESE SOCIETY

THE crimes committed by the US aggressors against the Vietnamese nation can be seen, furthermore, from another angle, less "spectacular" perhaps, but no less dramatic. This atrocious war results in the upsetting and even the sapping and alienation of the foundations of the Vietnamese society.

To avoid ruthless terror, a part of the rural population has been pouring into the cities. This movement has aggravated still further as a result of US policy which seeks to regroup people in centres called "strategic hamlets," "new-life hamlets," "prosperity zone," etc., so as to immunize them from the influence of the NFL and "empty" the free zones. Thus on a large scale, the village, the basic cell of Vietnamese society, has been brutally disrupted, entailing profound perturbations in social life. This rupture, frequently, is more radical still, dissociating even families of refugees, totalling as many as 4 millions!

The following reports by Dr E. Wulf, professor at the Hue Faculty of Medicine for 6 years, are quoted in the Black Book:

"The rural population being driven out of their huts, the cohesion of village life is broken. They are deprived of their fields and the means of living: the women, more often than not, have been compelled to prostitute themselves; the children begin a career of petty thieves... And so the Americans attain two other goals: 1) they get the man-power needed for the maintenance and building of their bases, 2) people depend on US bases for their subsistence (...). around these bases is created a sort of lumpen-proletariat, anarchical and dependent, which the Americans prefer to a potentially revolutionary peasant population." (page 131)

This abnormal explosion of urban population evidently poses a series of social problems, such as housing shortage, rising cost of living, promiscuity, absence of physical and mental hygiene, delinquency, absence of necessary conditions for the development of the personality of the children and the adults as well.

The presence on Vietnamese soil of hundreds of thousands of GIs and US-paid foreigners, the dumping of American goods on the home market... has generated inflation, price increases, black market, smuggling.

The everyday life has become very difficult for virtually the whole population, save very limited circles: militarymen and functionaries of some grades or classes, businessmen — and precarious for a large number of Vietnamese. This mass of poverty-stricken people, crowded into shanty-towns and exposed to the worst of material difficulties, falls a prey to US policy: a reserve from which are recruited torturers and killers, and men who trade in blood by enlisting themselves in to the puppet armed forces, etc.

Prostitution, another means of survival, has proliferated to the point that Saigon has become, in the words of Senator Fulbright, a *"gigantic brothel"* (page 134). Prostitution is also a source of fat profits for some: the "legal" Saigon press has more than once charged the top dogs of the puppet regime with panderage.

The tragedy with the youth is really poignant in a country ravaged by an atrocious war for a quarter-century. Whereas most of them have found a way in the fight against the aggressor, hundreds of thousands of others, disorientated and perverted by American psywar, are tormented by despair:

"To work, study or have a family with the immediate prospect of being drafted to fight other young Vietnamese for a cause which is difficult to espouse, of finding no housing, and leaving one's young family without a means of livelihood, triggers different reactions which have in common an escapist character: gambling, opium smoking and delinquency, desertion (to go into hiding), suicide." (page 135)

The effects of US aggression on Vietnamese society so upset, are all the more serious inasmuch as they leave indelible imprints; the time necessary to wipe them out is much longer than to rebuild a bombed-out city or re-afforest a defoliated region.

WE ALL ARE CONCERNED

"AT the close of this file, a fact is inescapable; a gigantic crime has been committed under our very eyes, in Viet Nam.

"Chemical warfare, intense bombings, massacres, disastrous social and psychical effects are not isolated incidents, simply gathered together on the same terrain,

(*Continued page 9*)

LONG AND GLORIOUS MARCH OF THE LAO PEOPLE TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE

Prince SOUPHANOUVONG
Chairman of the Lao Patriotic Front

LAOS is a landlocked country on the Indochinese peninsula. Its area, 91,500 sq. miles, is inhabited by a population of about 3 million souls, consisting of over 60 nationalities which fall under three ethnic groups: the *Lao Sung* living high up on mountain peaks, the *Lao Theung* in the uplands and the *Lao Lum* in the plains.

After imposing their rule on Cambodia (1863) and Viet Nam (1884), the French colonialists invaded Laos in 1893. Like its two neighbours — Viet Nam and Cambodia — Laos had experienced ever since the humiliations of servitude. But never did its people bow to the aggressor.

I — TRADITION OF MILITANCY AGAINST FOREIGN INVASIONS

THE colonial period was marked by incessant insurrections led by patriots like Pho Ka Duot (1901-1903), Ong Keo and Kommadam (1910-1937), Tiao Fa Patchay (1918-1922), etc.

Political actions were coupled with armed uprisings: strikes of workers at Bo Neng and Phon Tiou tin mines (in Khammuon province), walk-outs of civil servants in Vientiane and Savannakhet. Those armed and political attempts were all drowned in blood. Nevertheless, they were unmistakable indications of the Lao people's impatience of colonial bondage.

INDEPENDENCE DAY

IN 1941, the French colonialists handed over Indochina to the Japanese fascists. The Lao people were ground down by a double yoke. In 1944, a group of patriots, most of them youths, schoolpupils and civil servants, together with Lao members of the Indochinese CP, set up the Lao Itsala (Free Laos) against the Japanese and the French. With the support of the Lao people, the movement swiftly implanted bases in the provinces and cities, such as Savannakhet, Vientiane and Luang Prabang.

In 1945 when the Japanese fascists capitulated to the Allies, the Lao people, under the leadership of the Lao Itsala, rose up as one man to seize power from the Japanese. In September 1945, the revolutionary forces were in control of the country. On October 12, 1945, the Itsala Provisional Government was installed in Vientiane. Prince Souphanouvong, one of the leaders of the movement, concurrently held the offices of Foreign Minister, Defence Minister and Commander-in-Chief of the revolutionary armed forces. The provisional government proclaimed the independence of Laos. Ever since, October 12 has been kept as Lao Independence Day.

RESISTANCE TO FRENCH COLONIALISTS

THE French colonialists had never renounced their ambition to reconquer Indochina, including Laos. Their troops sacked Thakhet town on March 21, 1946. This was the beginning of an atrocious colonial war which lasted 8 years (1946-1954).

In 1950, the Lao resistance, well underway, called for co-ordinated actions between the theatres of operation and forms of struggle. A national Congress was convened on August 13, 1950. 150 delegates of the Resistance movement from all parts of the country founded the Neo Lao Itsala (Free Laos Front). They adopted a 12-point programme, and elected a Central Committee with Prince Souphanouvong as its Chairman. A resistance government was formed and headed by Prince Souphanouvong.

Resistance bases were further enlarged and the fighting was stepped up.

In 1951, the Neo Lao Itsala together with Vietnamese and Khmer mass organizations, established the Viet Nam - Cambodia - Laos United Front. Units of Vietnamese volunteers fought side by side with the Lao armed forces against the common enemy. Major campaigns were mounted from 1953 to mid-1954 in Upper Laos, to free a part of Xieng Khouang and Luang Prabang provinces (April 1953); in Central Laos, to liberate a major part of Thakhet and Savannakhet provinces (November 1953); in Sam Neua, to regain control of the Nam U river basin and Phong Saly province (early 1954); in Lower Laos, to recover Attopeu province and Lao Ngam district (early 1954), etc.

Those military successes contributed to eroding the French colonialists' aggressive will and forced them to negotiate peace. The 1954 Geneva Agreements put an end to the Indochina war. They recognized the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos.

AGAINST US INTERVENTION AND AGGRESSION

HARDLY had the ink on the accords dried up when the US imperialists were out to supercede the French colonialists. They prodded reactionary elements into sabotaging the national union, and clandestinely supplied them with weapons and war material. They kindled civil war in a bid to neutralize the achievements of the Lao Revolution and re-take the provinces of Sam Neua and Phong Saly where the armed forces of the Resistance were regrouped.

But they reckoned without the stiff opposition of the Lao people. The Lao Patriotic Front, Neo Lao Haksat, founded on January 6, 1956, continued the traditions of the Neo Lao Itsala. Under its leadership, the Lao people inflicted serious reverses on the enemy and forced him to accept a political solution. The joint communiques signed in Zurich (1961) and in the Plain of Jars (1962) put an end to the civil war. A tripartite national union government emerged. It sent a single delegation to an international conference which gathered delegates from 14 countries in Geneva and which concluded on July 23, 1962 an international accord asserting the sovereignty, independence, unity, territorial integrity and neutrality of Laos.

Disowing their signature once again, the US imperialists unleashed a "special war." Since May 17, 1964, they have been hurling aircraft into systematic bombings of the Lao liberated areas. They have not ceased undermining the national union government. Shake-up after shake-up has turned the Vientiane administration into a reactionary rightist government, entirely at Washington's beck and call.

However, just as old French colonialism, US neo-colonialism has not found a favourable terrain in Laos. From Eisenhower through Kennedy to Johnson, the US presidents have only met with increasingly patent failures. Johnson in particular has left a heavy heritage: 20,000 officers and men of the Vientiane armed forces, organized, equipped, paid and officered by Americans, were put out of action in 1968. 200,000 people broke away from Vientiane's grip. The liberated zone was enlarged.

With Nixon's entry into the White House, there has been a new build-up of material means and stepped-up manœuvres. Laos has been turned into a testing ground for the Nixon doctrine of pitting Asians against Asians. In 2 years (1969-1970) the "special war" has been brought to unprecedented fury. The following formula has been applied: "mercenary troops (Vientiane and foreign) plus maximum US artillery, air and logistic support."

All these moves failed to hold in check the offensives launched since the beginning of 1970 by the Lao people and their armed forces, actions which resulted in the liberation of the strategic Plain of Jars-Xieng Khouang area (Feb. 21, 1970), Attopeu (April 29, 1970) and Saravane (June 9, 1970). 42,000 adverse troops (or more than half of the Vientiane troop strength) were wiped out, 5,000 weapons including dozens of 105-mm howitzers and 106.7-mm mortars captured, and 500 aircraft shot down or destroyed on the ground →

Kaysone Phomvihane, Vice-Chairman of the LPF Central Committee, on a visit to an AA unit in Sam Neua.

A textile mill in the liberated area.

Pathet Lao fighters helping peasants.

in 1969 and the first 8 months of 1970.

In the crucible of the fighting, the bloc of Lao national union has strengthened, in the first place the militant solidarity between the Lao Patriotic Front and the Alliance of Patriotic Neutralist Forces. These two organizations consult with each other regularly to achieve agreement on all questions of the Lao revolution. This is the best guarantee of the consolidation of the Lao national united front and its broadening.

Once again, the Lao Patriotic Front has shown its good will. On March 6, 1970, it published a 3-point solution for a peaceful settlement of the Lao problem. The solution has gained the support of the Lao people, in particular from the Alliance of Patriotic Neutralist Forces and has been favourably received by world public opinion. It was to promote this peaceful settlement that Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman of the Lao Patriotic Front, sent messages and delegates to Prince Souvanna Phouma. Unfortunately, because of Nixon's obstinacy and Vientiane's complicity, a solution to the Lao problem in line with the aspirations of the Lao people is still at death centre.

II — LIBERATED AREAS, FUTURE IMAGE OF LAOS

IN the meantime the Lao people have been bending tremendous efforts on national construction. The liberated areas, covering two-thirds of national territory, in a single stretch from North to South with one-half of the total population, represent a big achievement whose great significance is not always fully appraised.

In spite of a merciless war, the people's power has been working patiently and successfully for the development of the national economy and culture and for the establishment of democratic self-management organs.

The cultivation of "summer rice," an important innovation in agriculture, has spread to 10 provinces. In 1969-1970, the acreage under this variety of rice and its output increased four times compared with 1968. 684 small and medium-size irrigation projects have made it possible to grow rice in most productive plains. The growing of auxiliary food crops has been intensified. Animal husbandry has been on the upgrade.

The extension of local industry and handicrafts is aimed at supplying the population with textiles, yarn, clothes and farm implements. There are 50 industrial enterprises: forges, engineering workshops, weaving mills, rice-husking factories, pottery works, etc. Salt output has seen a sharp rise.

174 stores run by the Lao Patriotic Front have been selling industrial goods to the population and collecting farm, forest and hunting products. More than 100 mobile teams have been providing necessaries to the remotest hamlets.

1,500 km of roads was built from 1968 to June 1970 and thousands of kilometres of old roads repaired. The rate of kilometre of motor road per capita in the liberated areas is 75% higher than that in the occupied zone. Compared with 1962, car transport has decupled. Rudimentary means of transport have also been put into operation.

Big headway in education: in the liberated areas, there are thousands of primary schools, 20 elementary schools and 2 recondary schools (as against only one elementary school and 6 primary schools for the whole of Laos under colonialism) and school enrolment in all degrees was 69,000 in 1969. There are also 60 teacher's training schools for 4,000 students. Secondary technical schools have been opened (medicine, forestry, press, commerce, agronomy, hydraulics, post and communications, etc.) Illiteracy has been wiped out in 40 villages and 650 hamlets. 60,000 adults follow complementary education courses functioning practically everywhere. One-fifth of the population of Sam Neua and one-third of that of Xieng Khoang frequent classes. The mother tongue has been used as teaching medium. Text-books with a national and progressive content have reached nearly one million copies. Each ethnic minority has its own script.

Public health has been the major concern of people's rule. The campaign for the "Three-cleans" (eating, drinking and living) has produced salutary effects. In 1969, the liberated areas were immune from epidemics which plagued the territories under Vientiane control. Under the colonial regime there were, for the whole of Laos, a medical doctor, an assistant doctor, a pharmacist and some hospitals in the cities and an average of one hospital bed for every 10,000 inhabitants. At present, the liberated areas possess 20 medical doctors and first-class pharmacists, 138 assistant doctors, more than 2,000 nurses and more than 5,400 sanitarians, 42 province and district hospitals and infirmaries, dozens of village infirmaries and on an average a hospital bed for 240 inhabitants. 94% of the villages are equipped with infirmaries. 40 mobile medical teams have been formed. In many provinces, local materials have been used to prepare medicaments.

The mass cultural movement has been vigorously expanding. Apart from dance and song ensembles, circus troupes and film projection teams under the charge of the CC of Lao Patriotic Front and the army, each province and each district have their own dance and song groups and mobile film projection teams.

Artistic works bear a national character and depict with greater and greater faithfulness the life of the Lao people, their production and combat activities. Cultural festivals have been organized.

AT the invitation of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, **a delegation of the Lao people** headed by General Phoun Sipaseuth, member of the Permanent Bureau of the Central Committee of the Lao Patriotic Front, arrived in Hanoi on October 5 on a friendship visit to the DRVN to attend the commemorations of the 25th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of Laos (October 12, 1945) and the celebration of the International Week of Solidarity with the Lao People organized in the DRVN.

The liberated areas are projecting the promising prospect of a new Laos which formerly lived in misery and backwardness.

Their achievements have given additional lustre to the international image of the Lao Resistance. Delegations of the revolutionary government of Cuba, the NFL and the PRG of the RSVN, the Government of National Union of Cambodia and the National United Front of Kampuchea have toured these areas. A dance and song ensemble and a television team from the Soviet Union, and Soviet, Chinese, Vietnamese, Rumanian, Japanese, Cuban, American, Italian, French, Swedish and other journalists and film makers have spoken highly of the free zone after their visits there.

Reversely, delegations of the Lao Patriotic Front have visited the socialist countries, the UAR, France, Finland, Sudan, Iraq and Syria. The righteous voice of the Lao people has been heard at the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples and many other international sittings: World Peace Conference in Helsinki, meeting of the Presidium of the World Peace Council in Khartum, Conference of International Solidarity with the Lao People in Cairo, International Trades-Union Conference in Solidarity with the Indochinese Workers and Peoples in Paris, meeting of the Permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization in Cairo, etc.

WITH good reasons, the Lao people, proud of their accomplishments, are looking more confidently than ever to the future.

With the strength of their unity and the militant solidarity of the Vietnamese and Khmer peoples, and the active support of the forces of socialism, national liberation, social progress and peace in the world, they will say "no" to US neo-colonialism and the reactionaries in Washington's pay and will go on shaping a peaceful, neutral, independent, unified, democratic and prosperous Laos.

A class in the liberated area.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CRISIS

ONE of the most striking features of the US social crisis is unquestionably rising **criminality**. According to official figures, there were 3,700,000 serious offences in 1967 as against 1,400,000 in 1957. One hundred million fire-arms are now in the hands of civilians. Political assassinations are frequent in the US. The victims in these last few years were, everyone still remembers, John and Robert Kennedy, Viola Liuzzo, Malcolm X, Medgar Evers, Martin Luther King, and others.

In the 1968 election campaign, President Nixon promised to make war on crimes and to maintain law and order. But, in only 9 months of Nixon's term of office, criminality exceeded by 12 per cent the rate of the corresponding period of the preceding eight years.

In his Jan.22, 1970 State of the Union message Nixon recognized that criminality was a growing threat to the American cities, residences and life.

He cited the federal captial as a "tragic example," pointing out that few congressmen, living next door to the Capitol, dared to leave their motor cars in the Congress building to walk home in the evening.

The statistics released in January 1970 by Washington police revealed that in the previous year in the American capital a murder took place every 30 hours, a rape every 24 hours and an armed assault 20 times a day.

The inhabitants of Washington and other big cities in the US are constantly terrorized by gangsters. The wave of criminality has even reached the school premises where policemen are prowling in permanence. A recent report submitted to a Senate sub-committee said that even professors had to carry arms when going to work.

In the above-mentioned message to Congress, Nixon gave a long list of measures he would take against criminality. As can be expected, these measures are aimed at strengthening the judiciary and police apparatus, that is, at dealing with outbursts of criminality and not with its deep roots, namely unemployment, racism, misery in the ghettos, etc.

ANOTHER important aspect of the social unrest: while in the sixties the Democratic program sought mitigation of class antagonisms — only very partially indeed —, and eventual prevention of all excessive deterioration of explosive problems and made promises to the TU movements, the Black people and the poor, the internal policy of the Republican Party has obviously inclined since 1969 to the right, as Senator H. Hews put it.

Since Nixon has been in the saddle there has been a "toughening" in the policy of US capitalism towards the **workers' movement**, an exertion to step up the exploitation of workers and to break the combativeness of the working class. This offensive has resulted in the aggravation of unemployment, freezing of wages, emasculation of TU organizations, cancellation of the right to strike as well as limitation of the rights of trade-unionists and of their range of action within their organization, and in the end, a wider division in the workers' movement by encouraging chiefly racist tendencies among white workers.

Many official and semi-official statements show that the increase of unemployment is premeditated and this is to stimulate competition for jobs among workers, browbeat them into giving up their claims. The corporations think they can thus create a reserve of idle workers who can be pitted against strikers. But it seems that this strategy does not work; it contributes on the contrary to worsening the current recession.

In order to check wage-hikes — despite the rapid rise in the prices of consumer goods and services — the Nixon administration has resorted to anti-worker prescriptions, to propaganda and "compulsory arbitration." It has also brought pressure to bear on the workers in the major strikes of last year such as the one staged by 150,000 workers of the General Electric (October 1969), which hit 150 works in 33 states and lasted for nearly 100 days.

To break the action of 180,000 PO employees (March 1970) the Nixon administration flung troops against them. In the fight against other striking PO employees' groups as well as against teachers, increasing massive arrests have been operated.

On the whole, despite all these efforts the US government nevertheless was not able to prevent the workers from getting wage-lift which, last year, amounted to 7 per cent for TU member workers. However that short-lived victory was soon reduced to nought or even more than "compensated" by the steep price rise followed by higher taxes, reduction of work hours due to recession, wage cuts or wage freezing for workers, members of minor TU or non-union members.

In face of the ever-mounting resistance of the workers, the Nixon administration decided to submit to Congress anti-TU and anti-strike bills, which would give the President the power of stopping strikes in some industries and imposing on the workers "compulsory arbitration" on the one hand, and deprive the bulk of TU member workers of their voting right during the signing of collective contracts, on the other. (The latter measure was approved by George Meany, AFL-CIO President, and other conservative TU leaders).

In the fiercer and fiercer conflict between capital and labour (5,045 strikes in 1968, 5,600 in 1969, and more important walk-outs are to be expected this year, which according to *Fortune* magazine are a proof of the explosive force), the present administration has come out in favour of the monopoly. This has embittered class struggle chiefly on the occasion of the signing of new collective conventions. The *US News and World Report* foresees in this connection that in 1970, nearly 5 million workers will take part in actions for wage-lift and the improvement of working conditions.

APART from the strife between capital and labour there is another one, that between the "gentry in power" and some sections of the American society, the **youth** in particular.

Fifteen years ago, the US youth were said to be a "silent generations," for, except on rare occasions, they were indifferent to social and political problems and accepted the values of the bourgeois society, its ideology and the cult of the dollar, etc.

But, a lot of changes have occurred since this. One speaks now of a "revolt of the youth": the youth are challenging the government, even the institutions which serve as its mainstays. They suddenly swarm into the political arena, with a big noise, as a US poet put it.

Why all that? First, because the war of aggression conducted by the US in Indochina scares them and urges them to question the values and the fetiches of US imperialism. Especially after the invasion of Cambodia, the American youth — students in particular — have made unmistakably plain their reluctance to become cannon-fodder in an imperialist adventure which they think immoral, senseless and disgusting, this despite the appeals made by the official mass media, black mail and a huge display of military force in the campus. The discontent of the American youth has not only been expressed by protests against the war. These youth see a wider and wider gulf between the fascinating promises of the American society and the gloomy realities (unemployment, price rise and rack rent, repression, continual denial of rights to minorities, etc.) and have the tragic feeling of being deceived in their hopes. With regard to unemployment for instance, the general rate is 5 per cent for working people; but it runs up to 14.1 per cent for teen-aged boys and 16.5 per cent for teen-aged girls, that is three times the national average (see *US News and World Report* of Oct. 27, 1969).

Those who have a job are in the same predicament as their elders. Price and tax increases bring their wages to a level inferior to that of two years ago. Young workers are the most affected by work intensification. All this explains why the young workers have become the motive force impelling the movement of grass-roots TU members. But it is among the Black youth, who suffer most from inequality in the American society, that anger has come to a head. They no longer believe in the promise of the ruling circles of a brighter future. They see that even the few concessions, as legislations on civil rights — obtained through decades of militancy — are reduced to nought by the US administration working hand in glove with the oligarchs and racists in the **South**.

The ransacking of the HQ of the "Black Panther" party, the assassination, judiciary and police persecution of its leaders has exacerbated the feeling of the Black community.

The growing solidarity between White and Black students against racism and the Indochina war is the main feature of the rebellion of the **youth**.

Great changes have come to the American youth on the threshold of the seventies. The young protesters are far from being of one mind on the methods used and objectives to attain. Nevertheless, significantly enough, they ask themselves questions and prefer protests. And their voices ring so loud that the ruling circles are compelled to speak of a "national crisis."

A new combativeness is also firing the protest movement of women who claim to boot equal social, political and economic rights.

NOW a few words about the **political crisis**. Recently the Capitol was the scene of a battle unheard of in post-war days.

Its goal was to deprive President Nixon of the possibility to drag the US in military adventures without Congress consent. In launching it the Congressmen wanted only to preserve a constitutional right denied them by the last two US presidents, that is its power to decide on war.

(Continued page 9)

NIXON: the Man and His Policy

II- The Disunited States

VO NHAN TRI

(Concluded)

A demonstration against the Viet Nam war in New York.
(Photo from *Daily World*)

SIHANOUK SCORES THE PHNOM PENH "REPUBLICAN REGIME"

ON September 28 Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia and President of the National United Front of Kampuchea made public a statement denouncing the so-called "republican regime" the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique was going to proclaim in Phnom Penh on October 9, 1970.

The Cambodian Head of State pointed out that the "Constitution" of this "Republic" on which the Cambodian people had never been consulted was a Lon Nol clique's fabrication imposed upon the Cambodian people in the same way as the installing of Cheng Heng as puppet "Chief of State" and the establishment of Lon Nol's fascist regime.

In fact, he added, it was only a big piece of humbug against the Cambodian people as well as the countries and governments that Lon Nol was about to ask for recognition of his "Republic."

Samdech Sihanouk also said that for the past ten years Cambodia had been a kingless country led by a head of State with the same function as a president of a republic. The 1947 Constitution of Cambodia was a democratic one, whereas the Lon Nol regime is no doubt a fascist and ultra-reactionary dictatorship which suppressed all the democratic freedoms of the people, and resorted to terror and repression against popular opposition. On the liberated zones of Cambodia, the National United Front of Kampuchea fully ensured and thoroughly respected the Cambodian people's democratic rights.

The Cambodian Head of State concluded his declaration with an appeal to various countries of the world to abstain from recognizing and supporting the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique's "Republican" regime which consisted merely of feudal and fascist reactionaries, compradors, despotic generals, dishonest businessmen and corrupt officials, all in league against the Cambodian people.

A US Hawks' Flop

SINCE early September, the "hawk" Mc Intyre, under the cloak of a friar, together with other American warlike extremists, had been noisily advertising the "March for Victoty in Viet Nam" which was staged by himself in Washington on October 3. He had also formally invited Nguyen Cao Ky, "Vice President" of the Saigon puppet authorities, to the USA to take part in the "march" and deliver speeches predicting a military decision in US favour in Viet Nam. He had boasted that the march would draw a million people and that it would be the biggest ever in the city. His antics were winked at by the White House which wanted to generate a belief in an American hawks' pressure on Nixon, a "dove" president.

But what were the results of the farce? *AFP* reported that the "March for Victory in Viet Nam" was attended by about 8,000, and on October 4, *BBC* announced that there were only "some thousand" participants present there. The *Voice of America* said that while the "march" was under way those who were against the US aggression in Viet Nam staged a rally nearby. They held aloft RSVN flags and heckled Mc Intyre's followers. Nguyen Cao Ky went to Paris, but he did not dare to go to the USA. He declared that he had to "decline the invitation to join the march" because "extremists were preparing for a rival demonstration" which would make his "visit meaningless" and give an "opposite effect" (*Radio Saigon*, Sept. 27, 1970). The fact was that many Americans objected to Ky's tour. Senator Mansfield held that it would bring about many more difficulties for the US government who already had enough troubles to cope with whereas Senator E. Kennedy made no bones that he did not feel Ky's presence useful or profitable.

The failure of Mc Intyre and his fire-eaters spelled out that many Americans wanted an end to the US aggressive war in Viet Nam.

September 1970:

Anti-War Actions in the US

SEPTEMBER began with a peace march organized by the "Viet Nam Veterans Against the War" from Sept. 4 to 7 on a 30-mile road section from Morristown (New Jersey) to Valley Forge (Pennsylvania). The participants, mostly returnees from Viet Nam and servicemen on active duty, halted at many localities where they held meetings with local people against the US war in Viet Nam. With their ranks swollen by new demonstrators, the marchers proceeded to Valley Forge where they staged a big rally for an end to the war of aggression and repatriation of all GIs.

Recently a great number of anti-war enlisted men have gone over the hill. According to report of the US Defense Department on Sept. 15, 1970, desertions ran to 27,000 infantrymen and 6,654 marines in 1967 against this year's 65,643 infantrymen and 16,109 marines, or a twofold increase compared with three years ago. CIA is busily conducting an investigation into the crisis to report to Nixon.

Early in September, Jacob Potofski, President of the US Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, issued a statement condemning Nixon's prolongation of the Viet Nam war, which aggravated beyond remedy the situation and caused sharper divisions in the US. Frank Fitzsimmons, President of the Lorries Drivers' and Dockers' Union, also raised his voice against Nixon's extension of the war throughout Indochina and warned that so long as this war went on, the US would face a serious situation at home. The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees also came out with a statement in the same vein.

At the annual conference of the American Sociologists' Association at the beginning of this month in Washington, 3,500 delegates of US social research institutes unanimously passed a resolution castigating the US aggressive war in Viet Nam and urging that the Nixon administration meet the pressing demand of the Americans: an end to the Viet Nam war to save funds for home spending.

On September 24, in Washington, two bishops and nearly 3,000 Catholic priests scored the US war in Viet Nam as "illegal and inexcusable" saying that their conscience and love of the country made it a duty for them, Catholic leaders, to object to US policy in Viet Nam.

On September 23, the Francisco, Justice William Sweigert dismissed the accusation against four draft-dodging students, on the ground that the Viet Nam war was "in contravention of the American constitution" and flayed Nixon's prolongation of that undeclared war. The New York municipality also declared that this war flew in the face of the American Constitution and called on all its citizens not to take part in it and on all the city lawyers to take up the cudgels on behalf of any serviceman native of the city who would refuse to go to Viet Nam. On Sept. 11, Senator G. Mc Govern said on the TV that "no American has the right to send young people to die in Viet Nam," and that Nixon should bring home all GIs from South Viet Nam.

"Businessmen of Wall Street for Peace in Viet Nam" sent to Washington a delegation to hand to the President's Economic Council, the Departments of Finances and of Commerce and Congressmen a petition for an end to the Viet Nam war which, they said, had been playing havoc in American economy. Early this month, Robert G. Muncaster, a businessman in Alabama, was arrested because he had refused to pay taxes for the federal government to prosecute the war and advised his son to dodge draft so as not to have to serve in Viet Nam.

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In September, many anti-war organizations were set up, the most remarkable of which was the "National Coalition for a Responsible Congress" which rallied in its ranks such peace organizations as "The National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy," the "National Council of Churches," the "Referendum-70," "the Specialists for Asian Problems — for an End to the War," "Parents for Peace," etc.

The *New York Times* carried on September 22 an open letter of "The Lawyers' Committee on American Policy Towards Viet Nam" condemning US involvement in Viet Nam as a violation of the American Constitution and US Charter as well as the Geneva Agreements on Indochina, and demanded that the Nixon administration put an end to this illegal act. The letter stressed that acceptance of the new proposals of the PRG of the RSVN would make it possible for the US to withdraw with honour. The congress of the American Federation of Teachers (affiliated to AFL-CIO), with a 200,000 membership, recently voted for a resolution for an immediate end to the Viet Nam war and withdrawal of all US troops from South Viet Nam before June 30, 1971.

A poll held early this month by the Louis Harris Institute revealed that 65 per cent of Americans interviewed were against Nixon's policy and 64 per cent opposed the Nixon administration' crack-down on Viet Nam war dissenters.

San Francisco youth and students opposing the Viet Nam war.

A New Forestry

(*Continued from page 3*)

ENEMY DEFENCES BREACHED...

(*Continued from page 1*)

Remarkably the Tra Bong base key-point in the enemy's defence system; west of Quang Ngai province, on Sept.8 was wiped out: a battalion, a company and 7 platoons and 600 puppet troops put out of action.

In the **Western High Plateaux**, the enemy carried out 200 military operations in September to support the "pacification" plan. But he got badly mauled chiefly at Dak Tem and along Road No.14 in Kontum province, in the ambush on Road No.19, the Quang Mep onset in Gia Lai province (Pleiku), the interceptions of military convoys on Road No.21 and the storming of Buon Hra and Buon Kra posts in Darlac province (Ban Me Thuot). Initial reports on the fighting in the first 20 days of September said the Western High Plateaux PLAF had knocked out over 1,200 adverse troops, destroyed 110 military vehicles, including 40 tanks and armoured cars.

In **Nam Bo** (ex-Cochinchina) the perimeter around Saigon was breached in a locality about 5okm, east-northeast of the city with 3 puppet companies written off and 2 others decimated in a 2-day battle (Sept. 22 and 23) in Long Khanh province. But the hardest hit was the "pacification campaign" in the Mekong Delta. In other engagements, the enemy had many battalions and companies wiped out or depleted such as at Cai Nua (Rach Gia province) early in September, Nui Cam (Chau Doc province) in mid-September. In Vinh Long province alone about 100 km southwest of Saigon, in September, the inmates of 53 "strategic hamlets" rose up and punished or arrested 100 enemy agents, dispersed 400 civil guards and regained control of 14 hamlets. In My Tho province, half-way between Vinh Long and Saigon, in the first half of September the puppet coercive forces suffered heavy setbacks by having 1,000 men put out of action and 47 "strategic hamlets" dismantled.

KIND OF WORK	Development index			
	1960	1963	1965	1967
— Afforestation of denuded land	100	245	396	605
— Replanting of devasted natural forests	100	1424	2384	4850

NEW TECHNICAL MEANS

NORTH Viet Nam's forestry is facing another problem: backwardness.

All work is done by hand: felling of trees with the traditional broad axe, hauling of logs by buffaloes, buffalo carts and rafts being used for long distance only. For the cutting of wood, there was a dozen mechanical saws concentrated in big towns while 95 per cent of wood was cut by hand by tens of thousands of skilled workers scattered throughout the country.

The nascent forestry of the DRVN must do away with that heavy legacy of the past. Mechanization of work was necessary. A rational plan was adopted, which consisted in utilizing machines where the work was hard and less remunerative, while improving technique in the other links of the chain of timber production (first stage); and on this basis completely mechanizing production; then finally introducing automatization.

To carry out this plan, at the very beginning, caterpillar tractors were used in State enterprises to haul timber. Other technical means were experimented, chiefly wood-sliding and wire way. For the felling of trees, mechanical sectioning-saws were tried, but this was not economical owing to the conditions of forests (the trees are of big size and very scattered). Thus lumberman's saws were preferred. The handling of timber was also mechanized rather soon: hoisting gears of various kinds are now in use; mobile cranes visit every day various wood store. Bulldozers have been used to build roads. Mechanization has been applied to a high degree in road transport and timber towing. Each State enterprise has its own team of lorries. In 1965, over 80 per cent of road transport was motorized, the remaining 20 per cent was done by buffalo carts. Navigation was mechanized for 10 per cent only and clearing 5 per cent. For the cutting of wood, mechanical saws of various kinds and sizes have been used largely since 1960. In 1960 mechanical drills began to be used in afforestation.

DESPITE all the progress made, our forestry has to overcome great difficulties. Our industry is still too weak to lend it a helping hand. The technique of exploitation and management has not been thoroughly mastered. The needs are so urgent that it is a real race between exploitation and afforestation. However the trail has been blazed. The government attaches great importance to the rational exploitation of forests and the people have begun to be interested in it and practise it. This is an earnest of future success.

NGUYEN VAN CHUNG

The Disunited States

(*Continued from page 7*)

The Cooper-Church Amendment, the revocation of the "Tonking Gulf" resolution and the Mc Govern-Hatfield Amendment clearly spelled out the lack of confidence in Nixon and his foreign policy in this supreme body.

Across the country the "credibility gap" which is widening parallel with the escalation of the Viet Nam war, finds expression in the ever-growing lack of concern for the "values of Americanism." This phenomenon is apparent not only among progressives and democratic elements. Commentator Stewart Alsop has in fact admitted that "everywhere in the affluent suburbs, there is a restlessness and discontent such as this country has not known before, and for the first time large numbers of people question the validity of the basic institutions."

IN a speech in August 1968 in Chicago, Congressman William Ryan acknowledged that the "fabric of our society" (US — *VNT*) is dislocated by the decomposition of the cities, by poverty and racism.

Bradford F. Morse, another Congressman, said that: "Our society has been undergoing a steady polarization — hawk against dove, young against old, Black against White — that is increasingly isolating citizens from each other. Where we seek community we find fragmentation."

Summing up the development of the US internal political situation in the sixties, an *AP* commentator wrote that a split unknown since the Civil War had been noticed:

For this state of things, generated by the process of development inherent in the State capital monopoly, the military-industrial complex, that is the "gentry" in the saddle who pursue a reactionary domestic policy and an aggressive foreign policy is first responsible. There is every reason to believe that this "gentry" will not soon succeed in basically solving the main problems posed by the "American crisis" which will undoubtedly be going from bad to worse.

Next issue:

III. Nixon and US New Global Strategy

US Crimes Must Be...

(*Continued from page 4*)

due to the hazards of war They constitute a global crime, the outcome of a general strategy, a general will." (page 137)

"Without anything being done to define the personal responsibility of the killers of Son My, it is clear that the origin of the US crimes in Viet Nam can be found not at the echelon of such or such executive, but precisely in the strategy employed, which corresponds to the policy mapped out by the Nixon administration.

"However, such a strategy born out of repeated failures only to lead to the multiplication of crimes is not a sign of the strength of the American colossus, but is rather like a sort of forward retreat of a command which has lost all hope of victory, a government which has been bogged down in a hopeless war but has not the courage to make peace." (page 141)

Such is the conclusion, backed by facts and evidence, which the Black Book leads the reader to.

Nevertheless, its authors do not want to stop at that. They still want to *"sound the alarm and contribute to a conscience build-up."* They want the reader to understand that if these crimes today *"hit only the peoples of the Indochinese peninsula—the Vietnamese people being no longer the only victims(...)—the testing of new weapons of total war will eventually endanger the whole of mankind. As the Spaniards of Guernica had fores hadowed the fate of the inhabitants of Rotterdam, Coventry and Oradour, the Vietnamese peasant, suffocating with gases, would be quite apt to presage our own fate..."* (page 12)

And by way of conclusion we are reproducing the last paragraph of the pamphlet:

"The US crimes in Viet Nam must therefore be considered in their actual proportions. More than the horrors now taking place in this corner of the earth which is South Viet Nam, they constitute an experiment of the strategy of mass destruction, a typical case of perversion of science, the beginning of the uncheckable process which could finally lead to the very destruction of humanity." (page 141)

H.X.B.

Military Operations in South Viet Nam

"Special Pacification" Operations and Plans Foiled by Liberation Regional Forces

FROM August 29 to September 25, the liberation regional forces of **Quang Nam** province foiled the enemy's "special pacification" operations, putting out of action 880 adverse troops (172 GIs and foreign mercenaries). They also downed 3 planes, destroyed 18 military vehicles (14 tanks and armoured cars) and seized a dozen fire-arms and a quantity of military equipment, *Giai Phong* Press Agency reported.

On the night of September 27, the regional forces of **My Tho** province stormed over 20 enemy positions and posts, thereby making it possible for the population to set up tribunals to try die-hard thugs and dissolve the civil guard units in 30 "strategic hamlets" along Roads Nos 4 and 28.

In **Phu Yen** province, the regional forces flattened the Hon Ngang fortified position on October 4 and wiped out the 994th and 995th companies, an artillery platoon and a reconnaissance platoon.

The local inhabitants rose up and inflicted harsh punishment on 30 retreating enemy troops.

The Saigon Piastre Devalued Again

ON October 3, 1970, the Thieu-Ky-Khiem junta again devalued the Saigon piastre. The official rate of exchange dropped by more than a half: from 118 piastres to one dollar to 275.

This fresh move was an aftermath of the aggravating economic crisis in the areas under US-puppet control. South Viet Nam's originally backward economy has since the American occupation grown more and more dependent on US aid which only hamstrings all productive activities of recipient countries. On the other hand, the US war of aggression in the form of intensive bombings, shellings, raids, destruction of the crops and chemical sprays had caused further dislocation of the South Viet Nam economy. The situation had become worse still since Nixon decided to "Vietnamize" the war which only meant harsher exploitation of the South Vietnamese population to get "on-the-spot supplies" and "make war feed war." Military expenditures and appropriations for the repressive and coercive machine accounted for 80% of the Saigon budget.

To cater for the US war, the Saigon administration has resorted to inflation which has reduced the Saigon piastre's value to a little more than that of a mere slip of waste paper. In 1969 alone the inflation rate reached 80 billion piastres. In its August 1970 report, the International Monetary Fund said that South Viet Nam (under the Saigon regime) was the place in the world where inflation rate was the highest.

To make up for their budget deficit, the Thieu-Ky-Khiem clique also resorted to tax hikes. Late last year they instituted the "austerity taxes" levied on 1,500 items of goods and set up "special tax committees" to boost its revenues under the signboard of the "fight against tax evasion." *Saigon Radio* on October 2, 1970 announced that these "committees" had collected arrears of taxes amounting to 1,902 million South Viet Nam piastres. However, since the proceeds of these measures still fell short of their deficit, the Saigon puppets once again had now to devalue the piastre.

In more than ten years past, the Saigon administration has had to devalue the piastre three times: from 35 piastres to a dollar, the rate of exchange rose to 73.6% piastres in 1961, to 118 piastres in 1966, and now to 275 piastres. No doubt this third decision was taken again under Washington's pressure which, many Western news agencies and the Saigon press disclosed, had been applied for a year. To this effort, Washington had sent many expert teams to inquire into the situation. According to the Saigon paper *Su That* (Truth), during his trip to South Viet Nam in late August US Vice-President Spiro Agnew handed Nguyen Van Thieu, the puppet "President" of South Viet Nam, a cheque of 150 million dollars on condition that Thieu would devalue once more the piastre. The same paper in its August 27 and 28 issues commented that the step had been taken to comply with the desire of the Americans under US pressure. Western reports and the Saigon press noted that as the South Viet Nam piastre was fast losing its purchasing power, the money spent by the US ruling circles on nearly half a million expeditionary troops in South Viet Nam also underwent a drastic fall in value. Therefore, in getting Thieu-Ky-Khiem to devalue the Saigon piastre the Washington bosses had first and foremost in mind the GIs' pockets.

Western agencies and the Saigon press also remarked that as a direct outcome of the current reform, the piastre of the Saigon regime would lose more of its purchasing power, prices would soar up and the life of the population in the towns and cities under US-puppet control would be disastrously affected.

The Saigon paper *Dan Y* (People's Will) appearing on October 4 after the Thieu-Ky-Khiem triumvirate had made public the new financial measure that "prices have begun to rise," "housewives are facing the spiralling of the price of foodstuffs like meat, eggs, fish..." The paper further reported that "the volume of goods had dropped visibly while traders refused to sell their commodities, waiting for prices to go up." "One dollar is fetching 520 piastres at the black market as against 410 piastres just the day before yesterday," the paper added.

The *AFP* Saigon correspondent cabled on October 4: "The rate of exchange designed to alleviate the present economic crisis is not welcomed."

Opposition members of Saigon parliament said it only benefited the foreigners, not the Vietnamese (by foreigners they meant the Americans — note by *AFP*).

Huynh Tan Mam Set Free Anew by Saigon Authorities

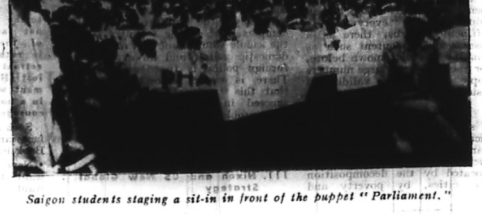
ON March 11, 1970, Huynh Tan Mam acting President of the Saigon Students' General Association, President of the Central Committee of the Medical Students' Association, President of the Minh Mang Students' Dwellings Representatives' Committee, was arrested the first time together with 31 of his fellow students. On August 30 he was apprehended again by the puppet authorities. On both occasions the latter wanted to prosecute him and stamp out the students' movement, but on both occasions they had to free him.

Tan Mam was seized together with 116 other mates in a demonstration which was the most brutally dealt with ever (August 30). Helicopters and rockets were hurled against the dissenters. This touched off widespread indignation among Saigonese people. The press covered this frantic crackdown in minute details.

The action carried out by the Saigon students on August 30 was directed against the Thieu-Ky-Khiem's policy of serving US "Vietnamization." They put out most legitimate claims such as "university autonomy," cancellation of the "militarization of schools," and an end to repression of the students who urged a more rational employment of pharmacists than drafting them. Their demands were consistent with those of the townspeople who pressed for an end to the war and objected to Thieu-Ky-Khiem's growing subordination to the US. After the August 30 arrests, the puppet authorities made a placating move by gradually releasing the students' leaders, but they still kept in jail a number of student leaders, including Huynh Tan Mam. The students and pupils uninterruptedly staged teach-ins, conferences, "camp-fires of hatred" demonstration, or issued protests, handed in petitions, and this time carried out a silent but vigorous struggle under the form of a "hunger-strike" which spread to all colleges from Saigon to Can Tho and Hue, in close co-ordination with the one undertaken by Mam and two of his mates in Chi Hoa prison. Many students' mothers in Viet Nam, and David Ifshin and 25 American students in the US also joined in this action of South Viet Nam students. As a result, the Thieu-Ky-Khiem clique was compelled to give back their freedom to Huynh Tan Mam and his two friends.

The first time, Mam was nabbed when the townsfolk, especially pressmen, were strongly protesting against the "austerity taxes." The students and pupils were the first to back the pressmen and were immediately repressed by the authorities. Mam and his mates were savagely tortured, in an attempt to extract statements to substantiate the charge that they were in touch with the underground communist organization and that Mam himself was an "important militant of the South Viet Nam town liberation youth union," an accusation which was made public by the puppet spokesman on March 12. Out of the 21 students tried by the mobile military court on April 20, 7 had to help one another into the dock while 4 others, incapacitated by tortures, had to keep to their beds. Running short of valid charges, the "court" could not pass any verdict on the 21 students, but had to dismiss them, only one by one under mounting popular pressure. The last batch of six students including Huynh Tan Mam was set free only after three months of unremitting actions by the students and other strata of the townspeople.

The second time, Huynh



Saigon students staging a sit-in in front of the puppet "Parliament."